1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Jābir living below Shibam, Āl Bā Sūdān at Du'an, Bā Humeid at Madūda and Seiyun, Āl Bureik at Shabwa, Bā Khatib at Tarim, Bā Wa'l at Tarim, and Āl Bā 'Umar at 'Ajlanīa between Henin and Al Qatn.

Yafa'is.

The Yafa'is are the *'asākir* or soldiers and the actual rulers of Qu'aiti territory. Their introduction as mercenaries, described in the historical chapters, has led to the foundation of two dynasties, that of the Kasadis of Lower Yafa' and that of the Qu'aitis who drove out the Kasadis. The places in which some of the Yafa'is live will appear later when the inhabitants of the various provinces of Qu'aiti territory are enumerated. I have also given in an appendix a list of the various Yafa'i tribes with their sections, strength and situation.

The Qu'aiti dynasty springs from a section of the Mausata tribe and is historically quite recent. Although the Sultan and his relations have had no personal contacts with their country they exercise some influence in Upper Yafa', and the Yafa'i connection is still a live one, as a great many Upper Yafa'is regularly go to the Hadhramaut to take service in the Qu'aiti forces, returning after a few years to their own country. Other Yafa'is have become settled in the Hadhramaut and form a powerful party on whom the Qu'aiti could depend in the case of disturbances.

The following are amongst Yafa'i tribes and sections represented in the Hadhramaut, the sections being shown in brackets after each tribe: Adh Dhubi (Al Mosilli, Al Kasadi, Ash Shanāthira, Al Jahāwisha), Al Bu'si (Al Gharama, Az Zaghālida, Al Homām, Al Mattash), Al Mausata (Ar Robak, Āl Yazid, Āl Batati).

Tribesmen.

The history of the tribes of the Hadhramaut has been, generally speaking, sufficiently indicated in the historical instruction, and their location and strength will be dealt with in the description of the various provinces.

There are only four words used in the Hadhramaut for the nomenclature of the divisions of a tribe. *Az Zei* is a confederation of tribes with a single leader. There are only three *Zeis* in the Hadhramaut, the Seibani, the Nūwah, and the Hamumi. The Shenafir Confederation is not a *Zei*, for while the leaders of the Āl 'Abdulla Kathīris are Sultans, they do not head the whole confederation of tribes. A tribe, *Qabila*, is sub-divided into a *Beit*, and a *Beit* into a *Fara'*. I cannot claim any particular merit for the divisions I have used, namely, Tribe, Clan, Section, and Sub-section, except that by using the word Clan I have avoided the clumsy term sub-sub-section which I found used in some statements of the other tribes of the Protectorate.

The Hadhrami tribesmen, like those of the rest of the Protectorate, are extremely conservative and "never depart from their tribal customs." Most of them are nomads moving over their areas

None of these foreign dynasties appears to be so old as the Yafa'i connection with the Hadhramaut which dates back some four hundred years. It has been seen that the Yafa'is were brought in by the Kathīris as mercenaries about that time ago, and gradually two Yafa'i dynasties arose which became predominant in the country. The passing of the Kasadis in modern times has been already noticed, and so has the establishment of the Qu'aitis as far and away the strongest element in the country. It has also been noticed that other foreigners who established complete or partial authority, such as the Zeidis and the 'Aulaqis, have also passed away.

Amongst the western states above the Yafa'is are not mentioned for they appear never to have been subjected to the Imam of San'ā. They are probably the oldest dynasty in the Protectorate and have jealously guarded their inheritance without foreign interference. Although they are exclusive people and dislike any foreign intrusion into their country, they themselves migrate readily, and apart from indulging in business undertakings many of them become mercenaries under foreign Governments, although they usually retain connection with their own country. They are extremely [181] independent individually, and perhaps from this fact arises the anarchical state of Upper Yafa' where every tribesman wishes to be a Sultan. In Lower Yafa', though, the family of the Afifi appear to have succeeded in establishing themselves as really paramount, perhaps on account of the almost superstitious veneration in which the Sultan is held by his tribesmen. But the general tendency of the Yafa'i in his own country is towards disintegration. In their own mountains they appear to be unable to submit themselves to authority. It seems strange at first sight, therefore, that when they go abroad they should be able to achieve success in their undertakings. In their own country they are miserably poor, and yet the country is in many respects more fertile than many parts of Arabia where the people are more prosperous. Not only do they achieve fortune abroad but they reach positions of authority, and, as has been seen, have established one of the strongest dynasties of the Protectorate over a comparatively vast area of country. Perhaps the reason for this success lies in the very fact of almost every Yafa'i considering himself subject to no man but anxious to assert his superiority over others.

Considering, as I have remarked, that many dynasties of the Protectorate are originally foreign, and were foreign at no great distance of time, it is strange that while they have become assimilated to a large extent with the people of their states, the Qu'aitis of the Hadhramaut have remained foreign. While the dynasty itself is modern, I think that the reason is, at any rate partly, again to be found in the character of the Yafa'i. While 'Abdalis, 'Amiris, Fadhlis, and all the rest have long ceased to look on the places of their origin as their homes, the Yafa'i of the Hadhramaut still l ks to his mountains.

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The following is the order of importance of the four paramount Chiefs of the Sei'ar tribe : Yeslam bin Muhammad bin Jerbū'a of the Āl Hātim, Tanāf bin Seheil bin Rumeidān of the Āl Hudeib, the Āl Qarwān, and the Āl 'Ali. 'Abdulla bin 'Aun bin Mulhī of the Āl Mulhī, and 'Ali bin 'Aita bin Tarim of the Āl Bā Rūh and the Āl Bāqi Msellem. Yeslam bin Muhammad is said to be far and away the most powerful of the Sei'ar chiefs.

The Sei'ar are descended from the tribe of Kinda and they claim Aswad al Kindi as their ancestor. On account of this descent the Āl Mahfudh are sometimes included with them. Their country, an inhospitable waste of barren plateaux scored with unfertile wadis, lies north of the main wadi and stretches west to Wadi 'Abr. It is called simply Reidat as Sei'ar.

They told me their neighbours are, on the east, 'Awāmir and Kathīr, Manāhil and Mahra, Zabeini, on the north, Kathīri as Suflan, Harawiz, Mahra, Zabeini, Rawashid, Murra, Yām, and on the west, Daham, 'Abīda, Marādā, Hammām, Bal 'Ubeid, Kurab. The very names tell how far afield they roam and raid. They are the wolves of the desert and steppe, and pariahs to the wadi folk living south of them, for they raid into the Minhali country on the east and the Hamumi and 'Awābitha on the south. Philby mentions them raiding far into the sands to Bir Fadhil, to Sharma, and possibly going to Hadbat abu Khasba. Bertram Thomas speaks of them raiding the Qutun, a section of the Qara tribe, and raiding a Mahra encampment at the waterhole of Andhaur. He also says they raided as far north as the region of Umm Malissa and that Sei'ar is a word of terror to the Rashid and the southern Murra. The Nahd let them visit their markets through fear only, and they are an ever present danger to small unguarded parties of travellers, whom they have interrupted up to Ghadīr al Milib in the Wadi Du'an. Having no settled habitat they are hard to punish and have always proved elusive and wary. When travelling in small numbers outside their own country they choose the byways and travel by night, for owing to their habits every man's hand is against them. The only places at which they appear openly are Shibam where they behave themselves, and Meshhed during the time of the annual *ziyara* in the month of Rabi'l Awal when they sell their camels. But their hardier neighbours do not let them have it all their own way and the Manāhil, for instance, give them as good as they get. If they raid far they are also raided from afar, as witness the case of a young warrior of the Southern Ajman from the neighbourhood of Kuweit, who, proceeding to Nejran in the winter of 1934-5 to espouse a Yām damsel, raided the Sei'ar on the Hadhramaut borders on his way home and took five of their camels to Kuweit.

They have monthly truces among themselves, never longer; sometimes they will make new ones, sometimes they fight. I was

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Hurricane fighter and a mobile canteen for blitzed areas in England. The women of Mukalla have made bandages for the Red Cross in Egypt regularly since 1942.

That is a brief comparison between the Qu'aiti State in 1936 and in 1944: and progress has been made in other ways too. In case the picture seems too favourable, it should be remembered that the famine, due to the loss of over £600,000 a year in remittances from Singapore and Java, seven years' drought, the difficulty of getting food and its high price, the loss of 50 per cent of the working camels, and the difficulties of shipping, has had a very grave effect on the country, but has on the whole hit the interior rather than the coast. His Majesty's Government came to the rescue by voting over £300,000 for famine relief, and by providing air transport for grain, but in dealing with the progress of the Qu'aiti State it is right to record that the Government and the merchants have done their best, and the 1944 estimates included about three lakhs of rupees for famine relief, both by direct grants and by the provision of public works. A voluntary cess by merchants on their imports, the contribution by Government servants of 1 per cent of their salaries, and other charitable efforts raised a fair amount more; and soup kitchens, infirmaries and so on were provided at the coast for refugees from the interior.

Nature of the People and Country

Before describing the methods used in building up the Qu'aiti administration, something must be said about the nature of the people and their country to explain why unusual methods were required. The Hadhramaut is in many ways different from the rest of Arabia, from which it is for the most part separated by desert on all sides, but since it has a seaboard its people have always been able to find a living across the sea. They have had to do this because most of the 70,000 odd square miles of the country is irreclaimable desert and it is unlikely that it could ever support more than a quarter of the population. In other lands they have come to know Western rule but for the most part it has had few attractions for them. They generally find the trammels of an ordered life irksome, and throw them aside as happily as they drop their tarbushes and tussore suits for a waist cloth and indigo when they come back.

The nature of the country provides an explanation of the nature of the people. The vast and barren areas of mountain and jol have bred in the bedouin a deep sense of freedom and an unwillingness to yield it to anyone, for it is all he possesses. In the deep valleys of the hinterland the horizon is bounded by walls a thousand feet high and this has bred in the people an exclusiveness which it would be hard to find elsewhere. In the towns and villages of these valleys a most particular form of religion has grown up. There is none of the free brotherhood of Islam, but a system of classes of seiyids, of settled tribesmen with few of the virtues of the desert bedouin, of money-lending immigrant Yafa'i tribesmen from the west, of descendants of African slaves, of merchant townsmen, and of hard working

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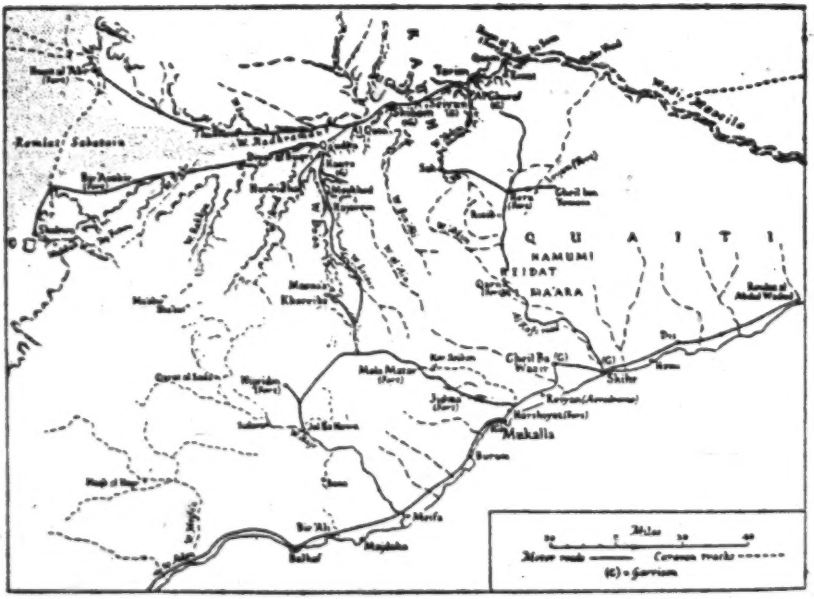
serfs whose economic condition is so oppressive that they have almost fallen to the level of the beasts whose labours they share on their wells. The seiyids dominate the life and thought of the country and, though some of them, those with whom the Westerner comes into contact, have furnished their houses with most of the comforts, many of the luxuries and still more of the barbarities of the West, Western influence ceases at that point and they have been described as "members of the most fanatical sect in Arabia." There are over 20,000 of them in the country and with their families they probably represent about a fifth of the population. The Hadhramaut is also a particular and holy land for it contains the tomb of the prophet Hud and a whole host of minor prophets and saints.



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The country contains the most extraordinary contrasts. Civilization ranges from extremes of luxury and comfort to utter squalor, from considerable culture to complete savagery. The poor town classes usually have enough to eat but no margin, the bedouins live on the verge of starvation. You find the highest standard of morality among the bedouin, but in the towns and especially on the coast vice is all too common: theft, however, is surprisingly rare. Formal religious observance among the settled people is widespread but there are few "good" men. Those there are stand out like beacons. Among the bedouin there is less formal observance (some tribes scarcely pray or fast) but a higher standard of honour

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and the people are natural Muslims having learnt in a hard school absolute submission to the will of God. Religious fanaticism is strongest where the seiyids are strongest. In other places there is greater tolerance and, among the bedouins, it is what a man is rather than what his religion is that counts.

When we started everybody wanted independence. Many of the old secluded seiyids, whose ideas of independence merely amounted to the exclusion of infidels, had sons and relations who read the Egyptian papers and their ideas of independence were based on grandiose schemes of complete self-government. Some of them, who thought themselves moderate, demanded no more than independence on the Egyptian and Iraqi models and talked airily of Parliaments and so on. In Singapore and Java in 1939 I had petitions presented to me three times demanding this sort of independence. Once at Solo the deputation was pointed out to me as representative: it contained seiyids, tribesmen and a Sultan of the Kathiri family. Only the last had ever been in the Hadhramaut. He asked me if he might see me privately after the meeting and then asked me to arrange independence for Jahiz. Jahiz was his village in the Wadi 'Amd and consists of five houses. The tribesmen, settled and bedouin, wanted independence; the bedouin claim was at least easy to understand for all it amounted to was that their freedom in the hills and deserts should be undisturbed. The settled tribesmen were and are more difficult. Every little section considered itself independent, and the more powerful, who could afford not only to arm themselves but to buy and arm private forces of slaves, did all they could to extend their boundaries at the expense of their neighbours.

The strangest example of this kind of campaign was that of the Bin 'Abdat section of the Kathiri tribe, who own much landed property in Singapore and Java. The treaty chief of the Kathiris is the Kathiri Sultan whose capital is Seiyun. About 1928 the head of the Bin 'Abdat section forcibly occupied the walled town of Al Ghurfa, belonging to some unarmed sheikhs. This brought him into conflict with the Kathiri Sultan, who was supported by the Qu'aiti Sultan, and with the neighbouring heads of other Kathiri sections. War ensued which carried on with little interruption till 1937. Bin 'Abdat built up a respectable force of slaves and tribesmen of his own and constructed an elaborate system of forts and trenches which extended right across the Wadi Hadhramaut some three miles or more, and almost to the Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary at Shibam. In the course of the fighting, a curious armoured vehicle was imported from Java, which was intended to be towed by a motor car into the enemy camp. Bin 'Abdat acquired a very large stock of ammunition and really good rifles at very high prices. The Qu'aiti Sultan brought artillery, ancient and modern, to the aid of the Kathiri, but no decision was ever reached.

When I came to the Hadhramaut in 1936 Bin 'Abdat instructed his lawyer in Singapore to address a letter to the Government in which he claimed to be an "independent rajah." He was informed that the only recognized treaty chiefs in the main Hadhramaut were the Qu'aiti and

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is your friendship and I will pay my way.' A little later on, they say, 'I would like to hang up my hat here, it won't be in your way.' Then they say, 'my coat also.'" Said another, "and then it is their trousers and then they cannot leave." A few months later when the Governor of Aden was telling a meeting in the Hadhramaut of the very generous help His Majesty's Government was offering for famine relief, an address thanking him asked for an assurance that there was not more than charity behind it. This he readily gave, but the point is that the Arabs of South Arabia know well enough what peaceful penetration has meant in the past, in such places as Zanzibar, and they fear us even when we bring gifts.

I do feel, however, that, given the right type of adviser or political officer, it is possible to improve administration, security and social services in such areas by such means as I have described, and I am quite sure that the resultant dividend of good will in the area itself and in neighbouring areas is far greater than you would get by applying the more efficient methods of direct or indirect rule.

Seeing my own successes and failures and watching those of others over the course of years has given me some ideas of what an officer working in these countries should be and do. As Arabs are individualists and will at best only treat you as an equal, a man they feel to be a leader can handle them better than another. So that personality counts for a lot, but it must not be aggressive. Tact, judgment, self-reliance and balance are indispensable, and without patience and hope many a good man might give up. But beyond these things an officer working with such people should not feel and must never show that he is a superior being to those amongst whom he works. They will expect him to have a greater knowledge of outside things than they have, for he would not be there if he had not, but he must be careful how he uses it. In social matters it is not merely a question of having no colour prejudice. Administrative officers of the Colonial Service rarely have colour prejudice in an acute form, but they generally set bounds between themselves and the people in social intercourse. The officer living amongst the Arabs cannot do this, and must be prepared for long periods at a time to live and share the life of the people while at the same time keeping his own virtue and preserving a sense of proportion. The Arabs believe as an article of faith that they are the noblest of races, and it should not be over-looked that they have a civilization and a literature of their own so that it is not for us to impose a culture on them or to build a culture for them. A kindly condescension to a less fortunate race is therefore out of place when dealing with them. They take our so-called insularity not as a peculiarity for which allowances should be made, but as a criticism of them and their manner of life. In this, of course, they are not peculiar. They call our insularity and condescension *kibr inglis*. The French in Mauritius used to call them *orgueil anglais* and they are perhaps the things above all others which make us unpopular.

Simplicity of life and manner are in many circumstances a valuable

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qualification. Pomp and circumstance mean little to a tribesman and nothing at all if they are only window dressing. It is worth while quoting what Tabari says of the Khalif Umar's instructions to governors: "Whenever he appointed a governor he used to draw up in writing a certificate of investiture. It contained the following instructions: That he must not ride on horseback, nor eat white bread, nor wear fine clothes, not set up a door between himself and those who had aught to ask of him."[1]

An officer living in many of these countries must not expect a life of ease and comfort, and he must be ready to do without the sort of things that he considers the ordinary amenities of life, such as games, clubs, European society and its distractions. If he cannot find interest and entertainment in local society and its diversions, he is better elsewhere. The same applies to his wife. Freya Stark once wrote that the British are always popular until they bring their wives. This is exaggerated but there is a great deal of truth in it, and I have often heard the complaint that wives caused the lack of understanding between British officers and their people by keeping their husbands away from the people.

Apart from personal qualities an officer must have not only a knowledge of the language of the country but a knowledge of and sympathy with its religious customs. He must know its history and the more he knows of its literature the better. Without these he cannot speak with the enemy within the gates. Finally, he must have a general grounding of administrative or technical knowledge and experience. When he sees a suitable opening and can get the requisite co-operation he should be in a position to help to put finances on a sound basis, and to help in the development of medical services, education and agriculture. He should be of an inventive turn of mind and should be able to make a little money do the work of a lot. He should be able to make bricks without straws.

I cannot, of course, pretend to speak for any area of which I have not direct experience, but from what I have seen and heard of the rest of the Middle East I have the feeling that it is qualifications of this kind that are needed there also.

It may be to some extent a counsel of perfection to ask for officers of these qualifications, but I find it difficult to believe that candidates with many or all of them and with the necessary missionary spirit cannot be found; and I think there would be a far greater chance of finding them if there were a recognized unified political service from which political officers and advisers could be selected for the various posts which we have or may have to fill in this area. If there were such a service it should be possible to attract better candidates to it as there would be a cadre large enough to offer a reasonable career.

Of course that is not enough by itself to ensure a settled, or at any rate a more settled, Middle East. There is the importance of adequately garrisoning the area (of showing force as Lyautey, often quoted by Brigadier

[1] R. A. Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs* (London, Cambridge University Press, 1930).

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But, of course, we do not force things down anybody's throat.

Colonel J. K. Tod: It is forty years ago since I spent some time in Aden. The lecturer said that the Mushraqis were rather darker than the western people. My recollection is that they were fair and aquiline compared with those further west.

You spoke about the shrines of ancient saints being very much revered. At the west of Dhala there was an object of great veneration.

My impression in those days was that the tribes of the Aden Protectorate were extremely democratic and had very little class distinction. The only distinguishing mark was in their dress. The ordinary tribesmen wore indigo-dyed clothes, giving them a very dirty appearance, because the dye always came off all over their bodies, and the better classes wore white with coloured head-dresses. They seem to have commanded the respect of the people, who showed it in a very peculiar way. A tribesman would come up to one of his sheikhs, who might be sitting on a rock, and by way of showing him respect he would catch him by the head and pull it down and kiss him on the head. It seemed to be the ordinary respectful greeting.

You mentioned the eastern confederacy, the Qataban. Is the present tribe the Quteibi? They were one of the confederacy under the Amir of Dhala. My recollection is that that is the only confederacy in the whole Protectorate. It was a very loose confederacy.

Mr. Hamilton: The Yafai people are western. They are not of the western Mushraqi type at all. The Yafais are a very fine lot. There are, I think, two battalions of Yafai soldiers in Hyderabad under the Nizam. They travel all over the world, but they will not let anyone else travel over *their* world. The Amir of Dhala is the chief of the confederation over which he rules, which does not actually include the Quteibis. A political mistake was made originally by trying to put the Quteibis under him. Now, when you put them under Lahej, they say they would rather be under Dhala, and *vice versa*. They have the greatest fun the whole time. Their idea of fun is to shoot and loot each other. When the R.A.F. drop a couple of bombs, usually well wide of their villages, they take the unexploded bomb at once, pick it up, carry it off, put it under a neighbour's house and set fire to it.

Kissing at the top of the head is most respectful, but, of course, there again in South Arabia you kiss the hem of the man's garment one minute and put a knife just where you have kissed the next. But they are extremely respectful, and the chiefs do carry with them the whole honour and self-respect of the tribe.

If in battle one of the chiefs is killed, it is very much regretted, and the whole tribe turns out to bury him. Also the son of a chief and his headmen of villages will indulge in the kiss on the thigh and knee, salutes accorded originally to patriarchs.

Mrs. Gregory: Is there any connection between the people from Baluchistan Makran and the Mushraqi?

Mr. Hamilton: I do not think there is any connection except that a few travellers come across from the Persian Gulf.

Dr. Hugh Scott (unable to be present) asked Major Hamilton (in writing) whether he considered the confederation of Ma'an to be the

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CHAPTER I.

THE DEPARTURE.

ADEN—MAKALLA.

We owe our journey to Ḥaḍramaut to a mission entrusted to us by the Netherlands Government. Later it will become clear how deep-lying the contact is between Ḥaḍramaut and Netherlands India, and how self-evident it is that the Dutch Government should wish to make itself accurately acquainted with the social and political conditions in the native land of the tens of thousands of Arabs, who form such an important element in the social fabric of that country. The Ḥaḍramīs are not absorbed into the union of Indonesian peoples, and many of them keep a firm hold on the connection with their own country, in the hope that some day they may be able to return there, to await the Day of Resurrection and Judgment in that hallowed ground. The charge entrusted to Dr. van den Berg to write his book, which was published by the Government of Netherlands India, resulted from the practical needs of that Government with regard to the heterogeneous peoples of Indonesia. So also with the mission entrusted to me.

Although I knew how difficult it had been made, until now, for a Christian and Westerner to penetrate into the land of the fanatical Ḥaḍramī, yet I had some hope of success in the attempt, and this for two reasons.

The years that I had spent in the civil service of Netherlands India had given me the conviction that the Ḥaḍramī is grateful for the treatment which he receives there from our Government and for the opportunities which he has to save money and to get on in the world. As a government official of Netherlands India I had not reckoned in vain on finding a welcome among the Ḥaḍramī families having relations with Indo-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

its fine strategic position once commanded the great route from the coast to Ḥaḍramaut. Within the gate the streets also mount steeply. The town gives an impression of decay; there are few tall or fine houses, the white colour of prosperity is to be seen on hardly a single one of them; the town is grey-brown as the mountain against which it stands.

We stop in front of a double house that is built over a small side-street. Sayyid Muḥammad bin Sālim bin ʿAbdarraḥmān Āl Qāf, the man to whom we were given an introduction by our host in Dōʿan, is said to live here. The letter is taken in, the door closed again, and we wait in the shadow of the narrow, overarched street. Time passes and we ask ourselves anxiously whether the *Efrendjīs* are perhaps not welcome in this house. No, that is not the case, but a double wedding is being celebrated at this moment, and the house is therefore full of women, who have to be removed and shut up, before our company can be allowed to enter. At last this stage is reached and we are taken to an apartment which shows signs of having been very much inhabited. It is warm there and not clean, and, although we already fill the room, a number of inquisitive people force themselves in. The master of the house himself as well as his snivelling small son appear to have economised water for all other purposes than washing. But his friendly glance and hearty welcome make everything all right at once.

It is perhaps here timely to pay grateful tribute to the wonderful hospitality of the Arabs. Who, in the West, would hide his disappointment at having a wedding feast broken in upon by a whole caravan of tired and hungry men? Who amongst us would immediately throw open his whole house to the travellers, "the sons of the road", himself bring water to slake their thirst, and immediately prepare food to strengthen them?

Life is democratic here. In the reception-room, which is chock-full, sit slaves, servants, children and master all together, who drink out of the same bowl and pour out coffee

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

for themselves in each other's unwashed cups. Our host devotes himself entirely to us; he frequently absents himself to see that preparations are made for a meal without delay. Sounds of music and song reach us from the women, who are making merry in the adjoining room. In spite of the sweltering heat, the song with its refrain, the concerted clapping of hands and dancing to the monotonous music are carried on with great enthusiasm. Our host invites us urgently and repeatedly to spend the night with him. Sayyid ʿAluwī el-ʿAṭṭās, who is with us, has, however, so great a longing to see his family in his own country that, on his account, we decide to start for el-Meshhed in the afternoon. Meanwhile our delicately solicitous host has quietly had a room made ready in a distant corner of the great double house. He sees how tired we are and whispers to us to follow him so as to escape from the interest and curiosity of the constantly changing visitors. These fellow townsmen, against whom one cannot protect oneself, will not penetrate into this quiet room; we can stretch ourselves out on the floor on the simple mats and rugs, and our host will see to it that we are not disturbed for an hour. Then the meal is brought up to us without a sound, and we are only awakened when the yellow-coloured rice awaits us, ready served in flat dishes, on the round eating-mat, along with dishes of boiled mutton and gravy. A round flat bread-cake lies in front of each of our places on the mat. Our host apologizes for the scarcity and simplicity of the food offered to us, but we fall to with a thankful "In the name of Allah." The practice of spicing the rice and meat very strongly must have been introduced from Java and India. They overdo the seasoning to such an extent for foreign guests that, after the first pangs of hunger have been appeased, it is a real effort to continue eating.

Our host speaks Malay by preference and likes to talk about Cheribon on the north coast of Java, where his family rose to prominence and where he hopes to return in a few months, after the date harvest. His father possesses 20 houses

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

going to erect a house for himself here and, in accordance with the good custom, begins with the mosque. There are some fine houses in Ḥurēḍa whose owners live in Djohore, Singapore, or Java. The actual inhabitants seem to be very poor. Outside the town there are some fine date-plantations, it is true, but the total impression is one of decline. Everything that is fine and prosperous owes its existence to money that is earned abroad. The tie between a Ḥaḍramī and his birth-place is very close, and if he is doing well, he returns from time to time, and when he sees the evening of his life approaching he longs to spend it in the little mud town where he was born, and, finally, to await the Day of Resurrection in Ḥaḍramī soil, which for him is consecrated ground. This is why there are here palaces and country-seats of sayyids and mighty castles of sultans, whilst the Bedouins live in rock-caves or lean-to shelters, always on the verge of starvation, and the home-staying town-dweller does not rise beyond a very poverty-stricken existence. We are only just at the portal of actual Ḥaḍramaut and soon shall see contrasts so moving, that it will sometimes be difficult to grasp the fact that we are in a real world, and are not dreaming after reading a centuries-old story from the "Arabian Nights".

3. THE SURROUNDINGS OF THE TOWN.

On May 21st we intended to see something of the surroundings of Ḥurēḍa. Therefore, we asked Sayyid ʿAlī, the Bedouin member of the el-ʿAṭṭās family, to go with us. Most sayyids are not to be tempted for walks in the country at this time of the year! At the request of some of the notables we go to a spring which flows from out the mountain-wall a mile south-west of Ḥurēḍa, just at the spot where the limestone stratum rests on sandstone. Enemy Bedouins are said to have stopped up this spring, which formerly flowed much more copiously. The foreigners, held to be so proficient in all technical matters must say how the spring is to be put right. If there were

Reilly G-3 (1939-41) 1941 MM? Hadhramaut MM?
Middle East Islands (12)
Socotra.

Socotra has also a good breed of small, straight-backed cattle, a rarity in this part of the world.

With its commanding geographical position on the sea routes to the East and to the African coast, Socotra would probably have a much greater importance but for its lack of any good harbour. As it is, this interesting and attractive island receives little attention and has few European visitors. Aden's official contact with it is usually limited to the payment of the Sultan's stipend and to the annual visits of one of His Majesty's ships conveying the Governor of Aden or a political officer on tour.

The total area of the Aden Protectorate exceeds 100,000 square miles; that is to say, it is about as large as the United Kingdom. The size of its population is not known with any accuracy, but it is estimated to be about 600,000. With the exception of a few Indians living at Mukalla, a small colony of Arabian Jews at Dhala, and, in some parts, some imported African blood, the people of the Protectorate are wholly Arab. There are wide differences among them, for they vary from the settled communities of Lahej, Mukalla, Shehr, and the towns of the Hadhramaut Valley to primitive and semi-nomadic Bedouin. Between these extremes are tribes whose traditions and environment produce divergent characteristics, although they are alike in the essentials of race, religion, and language. Apart from the towns, the tribal system prevails throughout the country, and inter-tribal jealousies and feuds have been a cause of chronic disturbance, which has not yet been wholly cured by the Protecting Power.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are a race of small but hardy people, and their virtues and their faults are largely the outcome of their environment. Living in a rough and comparatively barren country, they are frugal, patient, and industrious. The poverty of their country forces many of them to seek their livelihood abroad. They make excellent seamen, and, as such, they are to be found scattered over many parts of the world. In common with many other mountain people, their institutions are democratic. Every tribesman is as good as his neighbour, including his chief, who, in a tribe, is only the first among equals. It is true that there are sections of the population who are subject to the tribesmen and who are liable to oppression, but the dominant characteristics of the people are a strong individualism and a love of freedom. They are said also to be avaricious. Avarice is indeed a common fault among them, but it is natural that money should be greatly valued in a land in which it is scarce and hard to

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

earn. An Arab from the Protectorate to whom I said that he and his friends seemed to think of nothing but money-making when they came to Aden replied: "If you will see the country from which we come you will understand the reason." It is a mistake, however, to suppose that a love of gain overrides all other considerations. The Arab, like other people, will do a good deal for money, but there are some things that he will not do. If his honour is affected he will place that first, and he will cling tenaciously to what he regards as right.

The Arabs of the Protectorate are all Moslems, and they have a strong attachment to their faith, but they are not fanatical. They belong to the Shafei sect of Sunnis, and they dislike and distrust their neighbours of the Zeidi persuasion in the Yemen. The most virile tribes are the Aulaqis and others to the north-east of Aden, and from them are recruited most of the men for the Aden Protectorate Levies stationed at Aden. In the most western parts of the Protectorate the people are addicted to chewing the mildly intoxicant leaves of a local shrub called *kat*. This habit is alleged to have a deleterious effect on physique and intelligence, but the degree of truth in this imputation is in some doubt.

In some of the coastal districts there is an intermixture of African blood, due to old importations of slaves. Slavery has long been an institution in the country, but it is limited to the descendants of imported Africans. Slave trade, fortunately, no longer exists, and efforts to suppress the status of slavery altogether have made some headway. The principal chiefs of districts in which it still exists have agreed to grant freedom to any slave who asks for it. The slaves have not, however, shown much desire to take advantage of this measure, for they are not, on the whole, discontented with their lot. The prevalent form of slavery is a mild one, and it confers privileges as well as exacting duties. The Arabs, for the most part, are kindly masters, and their so-called slaves can often rise to high positions of trust and responsibility. In the Quaiti State they have sometimes become local governors, and they can wield considerable influence.

The genesis of the Aden Protectorate was the desire of the British, when they occupied Aden in 1839, to guard their new acquisition from attack on the land side. For this purpose Captain Haines, the first British Resident of Aden, concluded treaties with some of the neighbouring Arab chiefs, the most important of whom was—as he still is—the Abdali Sultan of Lahej. These treaties formed the nucleus from which the Protectorate has gradually grown. During the nineteenth

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2

361 The town stands at the head of an open, high-lying valley extending about ten miles from north to south and having an average width of three miles. Much of the valley is well watered and wooded, and the ground, right up to the town, is terraced for cultivation. The place is the centre of a great number of caravan routes and minor tracks. Many of these, however, are steep and difficult, especially towards the north, and the approaches to the town, in general, are far from easy.

2. **Jalilah** is a village of tall, clean, solid, stone-built houses, some running to four storeys, and is one of the most populous settlements of the district. It is poised on a hill over 300 ft. above the surrounding plain, and is an important caravan halt on routes between Aden and Yemen. An indigo-dye industry is carried on. It has a fort and round tower, near the Turkish frontier.

619 vii. *'Alawi*, a small tribe occupying territory between that of the Amīri on the north and the Haushabi on the south. The whole
361 tract does not, probably, exceed 40 sq. miles in extent, and the population is estimated at 1,500. In January 1916 they are said to have submitted to the Turks, together with their neighbours, the Quteibi, with whom they are on unfriendly terms. **Suleiq**, 55 miles north of Aden, is their chief town, and comprises two villages, one on the right bank of the Hardaba, below a defensible 'serai' generally known as Fort Suleiq, and another on a ridge about 400 yards away and situated considerably higher than the fort.

619 With regard to the character of the tribes of the maritime hills, as a whole, contrasted with those of the littoral, a recent traveller
• 181 says: 'They are the scourge of the lowlands and the pariahs of the more organized races farther north. Treacherous, dishonest, and covetous—without the courage and cohesion for open raids driven home by the force of arms, they waylay and murder the defenceless travellers, and will even betray the guest they have undertaken to protect. They steal cattle and other stock at night—preferring speedy beasts such as saddle-camels, and, lacking in expert horsemanship, rely on stealth and cunning rather than dash and boldness. All the same they are stubborn fighters, especially if the day is going against them—fighting desperately and with judgement when cornered, and are skilful skirmishers and possess remarkable mobility. They carry on guerilla warfare with effect, harass troops by incessant sniping, but decline open engagement and are clever at ambuscade. They are difficult for ordinary Europeans to handle and are not a reliable type or satisfactory for alien service.'

619 (*b*) Tribal Confederations beyond the limits of the Aden Protec-